

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 HA-05 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05  
IGA-02 /123 W

-----094389 120458Z /21

O R 120304Z NOV 77

FM USMISION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7380

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 4621

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ESTC, PORG, RH

SUBJECT: SANCTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING NOVEMBER 10 POSTPONES  
SUBSTANTIVE REPORT ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS

SUMMARY: AFTER TWO HOURS OF SPIRITED DEBATE, SANCTIONS  
COMMITTEE NOVEMBER 10 AGREED TO POSTPONE ITS SUBSTANTIVE  
REPORT TO SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS  
AGAINST RHODESIA. UK AND US ARGUED THAT POSTPONEMENT WAS  
NECESSARY TO AVOID INTERFERENCE WITH CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS  
ON FUTURE OF RHODESIA. MAJORITY, LED BY USSR AND ROMANIA,  
DIAGREED. COMMITTEE AGREED TO SUBMIT INTERIM REPORT WHICH  
WOULD NOT COMMITTEE'S CONFLICT OVER TIMING OF SUBSTANTIVE  
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REPORT, NOTE THE CONCRETE PROPOSALS WHICH REMAINED TO BE  
DISCUSSED, AND PROMISE FULLER REPORT AT LATER DATE.  
END SUMMARY

1. ACTING CHAIRMAN (LOPEZ - VENEZUELA) OPENED SANCTIONS  
COMMITTEE MEETING NOVEMBER 10 WITH A PLEA FOR MEMBERS TO  
REACH AGREEMENT ON THE SUBMISSION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

OF THE REQUIRED REPORT ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS. USSR (VIDIAKIN) SAID RECENT DECISION BY CHAIRMAN (KIKHIA -LIBYA) TO POSTPONE SUBMISSION DAT OF THAT REPORT SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS A PRECEDENT. THE REPORT SHOULD BE THE COMMITTEE'S TOP PRIORITY.

2. UK (RELLIE) AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF REPORT BUT ARGUED THAT NOW WAS NOT THE TIME FOR EXPANDED SANCTIONS. HE THEN READ PREPARED STATEMENT (SEE PARA 17) IN WHICH HMG AGREED THAT "OIL IS THE KEY FACTOR IN ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTHERN RHODESIA."

3. US (GRAHAM) NOTED THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS NOW UNDERWAY AND URGED COMMITTEE TO POSTPONE ACTION ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS PENDING CLARIFICATION OF THE CARVER/PREM CHAND DISCUSSIONS. THE US WAS PREPARED "TO TAKE THOSE STEPS AND PARTICIPATE IN THOSE MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE FULL COOPERATION BY ALL PARTIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE (UK/US) PROPOSAL." (FULL TEXT IN PARA 18.) CANADA (FOWLER) SECONDED UK AND US CALLS FOR DELAY.

4. USSR ARGUED AGAINST DELAY, AND SAID HE SAW NO CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND THE COMMITTEE'S WORK ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS. TO SAY  
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THAT "THE TIME IS NOT RIPE" WAS IN FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE MANDATE GIVEN TO THE COMMITTEE BY THE SC. UK REPLIED THAT UK SOUGHT NOT TO PUT OFF REPORT FOREVER, BUT MERELY TO POSTPONE IT UNTIL THE PROSPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE CLEARER.

5. ROMANIA (CEAUSU) AGREED WITH USSR THAT THERE WAS NO LINK BETWEEN COMMITTEE'S WORK AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. HE REMINDED COMMITTEE OF ITS MANDATE OT COMPLETE REPORT. HE SAID UK/US CALLS FOR DELAY WERE A PRETEXT FOR AVOIDING SANCTIONS.

6. US SHARPLY DENIED THAT CALL FOR DELAY WAS PRETEXT FOR AVOIDING SANCTIONS. HE EXPLAINED LINKAGES, NOTING THAT SANCTIONS, ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WERE ALL PLAYING INTERCONNECTED ROLES TOWARD COMMON GOAL. HE SAID THAT NOVEMBER 11 DEADLINE FOR REPORT ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS WAS SET SIX MONTHS AGO, BEFORE ANYONE COULD HAVE FORESEEN THE DELICATE NEGOTIATING ATMOSPHERE NOW EXISTING. COMMITTEE WAS NOT AN AUTOMATION AND SHOULD SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONSE TO UNFOLDING EVENTS.

7. INDIA, BENIN, LIBYA, PAKISTAN, CHINA, PANAMA AND  
USSR ALL SPOKE IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING WORK ON REPORT,  
MOST SAYING THAT IT WAS UP TO SC TO DECIDE IF TIMING  
WAS OR WAS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS.  
FRG (HILGER) SPOKE IN FAVOR OF DELAY.

I. DEBATE CONTINUED IN SAME VEIN FOR A SECOND HOUR, WITH  
ALL BUT WESTERN FIVE IN FAVOR OF SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE AND  
EARLY SUBSTANTIVE REPORT ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS.

9. UK, US, ROMANIA AND CHAIR THEN BEGAN EVOLVING COM-  
PROMISE WHICH WOULD INVOLVE EARLY SUBMISSION OF SHORT,  
NON-SUBSTANTIVE REPORT AND POSTPONEMENT OF SUBSTANTIVE  
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REPORT. USSR CONTENTED SITUATION WAS "INADMISSABLE" BUT  
THAT ANY INTERIM REPORT, IF COMMITTEE AGREED TO THAT  
PROPOSAL, SHOULD MAKE IF VERY PLAN WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE  
FOR PRESENT IMPASSE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 4621

10. US UNDERSTOOD THAT SOME MEMBERS WERE UNCOMFORTABLE WITH DELAYING COMPLIANCE WITH SC MANDATE BUT FELT THAT SUBMISSION OF INTERIM REPORT WITH PROMISE OF LATER SUBSTANTIVE REPORT SHOULD MEET THEIR CONCERNS. US AGREED THAT FIRST REPORT COULD BE DESCRIBED AS INTERIM AND THAT IT SHOULD BE PUBLIC AND FORMAL. ITS FIRST SECTION COULD CANDIDLY DESCRIBE THE CURRENT IMPASSE, SO LONG AS IT FAIRLY NOTED THE REASONS GIVEN BY THE UK AND US FOR THE DELAY IN A SUBSTANTIVE REPORT. FIRST REPORT NOT MEANT TO PUT WORDS IN ANYONE'S MOUTH. IF SOVIETS DISAGREED WITH DELAY, THEIR REASONS SHOULD BE FAIRLY NOTED TOO. US AGREED WITH ROMANIA AND OTHERS THAT SECOND SECTION OF INTERIM REPORT COULD STATE THAT A NUMBER OF CONCRETE  
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PROPOSALS WERE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WHICH ACTION REMAINED TO BE TAKEN. NOTATION THAT EXPANSION OPTIONS WERE READY TO BE CONSIDERED SHOULD CONVINCE SMITH THAT COMMITTEE MEANT BUSINESS.

11. USSR THEN INSISTED THAT SECOND SECTION OF INTERIM REPORT SHOULD NOTE NATIONAL POSITIONS ON EACH PROPOSAL BUT RETREATED WHEN IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT THIS STEP WAS UNRAVELLING GROWING CONSENSUS ON INTERIM REPORT.

12. CHAIR THEN DESCRIBED HER VIEW OF CONSENSUS: THAT COMMITTEE WOULD SUBMIT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AN INTERIM, OFFICIAL REPORT NOTING THE PRESENT DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS ON TIMING, NOTING THE EXPANSION PROPOSALS ALREADY TABLED, AND PROMISING FULLER REPORT AT A LATER DATE. SECRETARIAT AGREED TO PREPARE DRAFT FOR NEXT MEETING NOVEMBER 17 FOR CONSIDERATION OF MEMBERS.

13. COMMITTEE THEN AGREED THAT SECRETARIAT SHOULD ALSO PREPARE A LIST OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES KNOWN TO FACILITATE THE BREAKING OF RHODESIA SANCTIONS.

14. UK AND MAURITIUS (RAMPHUL) THEN ENGAGED IN UNNECESSARY SPITTING MATCH OVER UK-INSPIRED INVESTIGATION OF USE BY SANCTIONS-BUSTING AIRLINE AIRTAIR OF MAURITIUS AIRPORT AND MAURITIUS' CHARGE THAT UK ACTION WAS "MALICIOUS" (WORKING PAPER 269).

15. US DELIVERED SHORT STATEMENT ON RHODESIA INFORMA-

TION OFFICE (RIO) AS FOLLOWS: "AS ONE OF THE CO-SPONSORS  
OF RESOLUTION 409, US FAVORS APPLICATION OF RES. 409 TO

489 AND WILL IMPLEMENT TERMS OF THIS RESOLUTION. WE ARE  
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NOW ACTIVELY STUDYING THE BEST WAY OF DOING THIS." US  
PROMISED EARLY ANSWERS TO OTHER SECRETARIAT QUESTIONS  
RECENTLY POSED TO US.

16. COMMENT: ASSUMING SECRETARIAT ACCURATELY INTERPRETS  
THE CONSENSUS REACHED NOV. 10, UK/US GAINED SHORT-TERM  
TACTICAL SUCCESS. BUT US REITERATED US ASSURANCES THAT  
US WOULD NOT ALLOW ANY PARTY TO BLOCK KUK/US RHODESIA  
PROPOSAL. AND US AND UK AGREED THAT POSTPONEMENT OF  
SUBSTANTIVE REPORT ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS WOULD ONLY  
BE DELAYED, NOT ELIMINATED. PROPOSALS BY INDIA, LIBYA,  
BENIN AND USSR REMAIN VERY MUCH ON THE TABLE AND THERE  
WILL BE STRONG CALLS TO BRING THEM UP AT ANY FURTHER SIGN  
THAT NEGOTIATING PROCESS HAS FAILED.

17. TEXT OF UK REMARKS FOLLOWS: QUOTE "A"

1. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASISE THAT THE UK GOVERNMENT COMPLETELY  
SHARES THE VIEW ALREADY EXPRESSED IN THIS COMMITTEE THAT OIL  
IS THE KEY FACTOR IN ANY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC  
SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTHERN RHODESIA. INDEED THE COMMONWEALTH  
HEAD OF GOVERNMENT MEETING HELD IN LONDON IN JUNE OF THIS  
YEAR REFERRED TO THE VIOLATION OF OIL SANCTIONS AS "A  
CRUCIAL FACTOR IN THE SURVIVAL OF THIS REGIME" AND NOTHING  
HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN TO MAKE MY GOVERNMENT CHANGE ITS MIND.  
WE ACCORDINGLY SUPPORTED THE REQUEST TO THE COMMONWEALTH COM-  
MITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE  
COMMONWEALTH SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, TO UNDERTAKE THE URGENT  
STUDY ON WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED A REPORT: AND AS  
THIS COMMITTEE KNOWS BRITAIN WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
COMMITTEE AS WERE TWO OF OUR OTHER COLLEAGUES HERE.

2. IN PRINCIPLE THE UK REMAINS READY TO CONSIDER ANY LEGAL AND  
EFFECTIVE EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTHERN  
RHODESIA. BUT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THIS IS THE MOMENT TO  
IMPOSE SUCH NEW MEASURES. MY GOVERNMENT ARE CONSCIOUS OF  
THEIR CONSIDERABLE RESPONSIBILITY TO BRING TO A SUCCESSFUL  
CONCLUSION THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT.  
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THEY ARE CLEAR THAT THIS OBJECTIVE COULD EASILY  
BE SET BACK BY PREMATURE CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER SAN-

CTIONS MEASURES. THE TIME FOR THE COUNCIL TO DECIDE WHETHER  
FURTHER MEASURES ARE REQUIRED WILL BE WHEN IT KNOWS THE  
OUTCOME OF THE COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN SOME OF  
WHICH THE SECRETARY GENERALS REPRESENTATIVE, GEN PREM CHAND,  
IS INVOLVED. FOR THIS REASON WE ARE UNABLE AT THIS TIME  
TO SUPPORT ANY FURTHER MEASURES UNDER ARTICLE 41 OF THE  
CHARTER.

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O R 120304Z NOV 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7382  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 4621

"B"

STATEMENT BY UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BEFORE  
SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, OCTOBER 13

AS MEMBERS KNOW, UNDER TERMS OF SECURITY COUNCIL  
RESOLUTION 415, THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE,  
GENERAL PREM CHAND, HAS BEEN ACCOMPANYING BRITISH RESIDENT  
COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE FOR TALKS WITH THE PARTIES ON  
MILITARY AND ASSOCIATED ARRANGEMENTS AS PART OF AN  
OVERALL EFFORT TO ACHIEVE AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO PROBLEM

OF RHODESIA.

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THE UNITED STATES FULLY SUPPORTS THE UNITED KINGDOM'S PROPOSAL TO BRING ABOUT PEACE AND MAJORITY RULE IN A FREE AND INDEPENDENT RHODESIA.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THE PROPOSAL REPRESENTS THE BEST CHANCE WE ARE LIKELY TO HAVE TO BRING ABOUT FREEDOM IN ZIMBABWE AND TO PROVIDE THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN FUTURE POLITICAL LEADERS IN FREE ELECTIONS OPEN TO ALL. CONSEQUENTLY, THE UNITED STATES HAS URGED THOSE GOVERNMENTS MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA TO USE THEIR FULL INFLUENCE WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE TO BRING ABOUT THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSAL AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION. I BELIEVE IT FAIR TO SAY THAT AT NO TIME IN THE PAST TWELVE YEARS HAS THE RHODESIAN TRAGEDY BEEN THIS CLOSE TO AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION.

I WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE BRITISH PROPOSAL. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO TAKE THOSE STEPS AND PARTICIPATE IN THOSE MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO SECURE THE FULL COOPERATION BY ALL PARTIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL.

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, IN HIS RECENT STATEMENT BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL, STATED THAT THE PRESNET HOPEFUL STATE OF AFFAIRS REGARDING A RHODESIAN SOLUTION DID NOT JUST EVOLVE BY ITSELF. IT IS CLEAR THAT OTHER PRESSURES, INCLUDING THAT REPRESENTED BY THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, HAVE PUSHED EVENTS TO THE PLACE WHERE THEY NOW STAND. THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF SANCTIONS UNDER CHAPTER VII OF THE UN CHARTER WAS DESIGNED, AND HAS SUCCEEDED IN ADDING TO THE PRESSURES ON THE SMITH REGIME. THE UNITED STATES SEES EXISTING SANCTIONS AND POSSIBLE EXPANSION OF

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SANCTIONS NOT AS AN END IN THEMSELVES BUT AS A MEANS TO AND END -- THAT IS, THE CREATION OF A JUST AND STABLE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN RHODESIA. WHEN MAJORITY RULE IS ACHIEVED, SANCTIONS WILL END. UNTIL THAT HAPPY DAY, SANCTIONS EFFORTS MUST BE MESHED WITH CURRENT NEGOTIATING EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE END WE ALL DESIRE. EXPANSIONS OF SANCTIONS MUST BE SEEN AS A CARD

TO BE PLAYED AT THE TIME WHEN IT WILL PRODUCE THE BEST ADVANTAGE.

THE VIEW OF MY GOVERNMENT IS THAT NOW IS NOT THE TIME.  
MANY DIFFICULT STEPS REMAIN, BUT EFFORTS TO REACH A NEGOTIATED  
SETTLEMENT ARE CONTINUING. NOW IS THE TIME TO LET THE  
PREM CHAND/CARVER TEAM HAVE ITS SHOT AT SEEKING TO  
DEFINE THE MILITARY AND ASSOCIATED ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY  
FOR A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION  
OF THESE INITIAL EFFORTS IN ITSELF COULD EXERT ENORMOUS  
PRESSURE ON THE SMITH REGIME TO STEP DOWN. SMITH AND  
HIS GENERALS CAN HAVE NO REALISTIC HOPE OF A MILITARY  
SOLUTION IN THEIR FAVOR.

IN SHORT, MY GOVERNMENT URGES A POSTPONEMENT  
OF ACTION BY THIS COMMITTEE ON THE EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS  
PENDING CLARIFICATION OF THE PREM CHAND/CARVER DISCUSSIONS  
WITH THE PARTIES.

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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AFTER TWO HOURS OF SPIRITED DEBATE, SANC  
**TAGS:** ESTC, PORC, RH  
**To:** STATE BONN  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/d888801b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009